

The Lusophone Potential of Strategic Cooperation between Portugal and India

Constantino Xavier

PhD candidate, South Asian Studies, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C. Non-resident researcher at the Portuguese Institute of International Relations, Lisbon.

Abstract

Despite their starkly different profiles and global trajectories, Portugal and India can develop a strong partnership by focusing on cooperation in the Portuguese-speaking countries, where Lisbon continues to enjoy disproportionately high influence and where India seeks to pursue its new external interests. This paper reviews the development and convergence in bilateral relations, explores India's rising interest and engagement with the lusosphere, and forwards specific recommendations for Lisbon and New Delhi to tap into the political, economic, strategic and cultural potential of cooperation in the Portuguese-speaking world.

Resumo

O Potencial da Lusofonia na Cooperação Estratégica entre Portugal e a Índia

Para além de significativas diferenças em termos do seu peso e perfil internacional, Portugal e a Índia partilham um interesse conjunto pelo potencial dos países lusófonos, onde Lisboa continua a gozar de uma influência preponderante e Nova Deli procura expandir os seus novos interesses geo-económicos. Este artigo analisa o desenvolvimento das relações bilaterais luso-indianas e argumenta que as políticas externas de ambos os países convergem agora nas regiões de expressão e influência portuguesa. Para explorar o potencial deste cruzamento de interesses, são apresentadas várias recomendações e iniciativas concretas nas áreas do diálogo político, económico, estratégico e cultural.

Introduction

500 years ago, the Portuguese were busy transforming the Indian subcontinent into a commercial and strategic hub for their empire in Asia, which opened the way for the world's first era of globalization. Today, the tables have turned, and while Portugal struggles with the impact of economic recession and policies of financial austerity, India is emerging globally as a great power sustained by a vibrant democracy, high economic growth rates, the world's second largest population, new military and nuclear capabilities, and a hub for entrepreneurship and scientific innovation.

This paper argues that despite such starkly different profiles and global trajectories, Portugal and India can develop a strong strategic partnership by focusing on cooperation in third areas, in the Portuguese-speaking world, where Lisbon continues to enjoy disproportionately high influence and where India seeks to pursue its new external interests. After reviewing the historical background of bilateral relations, I argue that the foreign policy trajectories of both countries currently converge in the lusosphere: Lisbon seeks to rebalance its European focus and regain its post-colonial influence beyond the West, in Latin America, Africa and Asia; while India's increasingly global profile and economic interdependence require it to develop global capabilities to penetrate and influence new areas beyond its traditional regional zone of influence in South Asia. Following a brief review of India's current relations with each of the eight Portuguese-speaking economies, I then recommend specific areas in which Lisbon and New Delhi can cooperate in the lusosphere, to mutual benefit.

Bilateral Relations: Towards Convergence

Portugal and India share excellent diplomatic relations today with a deep dialogue across a variety of sectors, both at the bilateral level and at the multilateral level, including via the United Nations, the European Union (EU), the Asia-Europe Meeting, and a variety of other institutions, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Foundation.

However, this relationship has a background of many ups and downs, marked by protracted hostility and an unusually late normalization in diplomatic relations. The Portuguese colonial presence in South Asia was at the heart of a conflicted relation and diplomatic tensions from the 1940s to the mid-1970s. After India's independence in 1947, its first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, explored a variety of strategies to approach Lisbon about the future of Goa, Daman and Diu, but the bottom line was clear, as well as unacceptable to the *Estado Novo* regime led by António Salazar: the territories were to ultimately be integrated into the Indian Union. While France acquiesced, and was able to negotiate a peaceful transition, with significant rights for French language and identity in Pondicherry and its

other Indian enclaves, the situation with Portugal escalated after 1954, with the occupation of Dadra and Nager-Aveli, an economic blockade imposed by New Delhi on Portuguese India, and an intense diplomatic and legal battle at the United Nations and the International Court of Justice. The stand-off had important geopolitical contours, as Lisbon aligned with the United States as a NATO ally, and New Delhi experimented with non-alignment and eventually fell into the Soviet orbit after the 1960s.

Just ten months after mass riots in Angola marked the beginning of the colonial war in Africa, and possibly under pressure of his Defence Minister Krishna Menon and fearing Goans could opt for independence, rather than integration with India, Nehru gave green light to Operation Vijay, which, in less than 48 hours, ended Portugal's 451-year long sovereignty on the subcontinent (Bègue, 2007). While a Soviet Union veto at the United Nations Security Council prevented any formal international condemnation or response, bilateral relations swiftly moved to a period of open hostility with direct or proxy juridical, diplomatic and intelligence battles played out in New York, Brazil and across Africa: for example, Lisbon mobilized diaspora Goans against New Delhi, and New Delhi supported anti-colonial organizations in Mozambique and Angola.

With Portugal's democratic revolution of April 1974, and the end of its *Estado Novo* regime, the relationship was rebooted, with Lisbon recognizing India's sovereignty over Goa, Daman and Diu in December, 1974, and respective diplomatic missions opened in 1975. Almost three decades after India's independence, Portugal thus became one the last Western European state to establish full diplomatic relations with New Delhi, and with the added burden of a hostile past. More importantly, both countries were now on diametrically different trajectories, which explains why, despite a few agreements, relations remained stagnant until the 1990s.

For Portugal, the priority was a dramatic shift away from its overseas colonial, political and economic profile, and towards integration into the European Union as a multiparty democracy and market economy, with a clear transatlantic commitment to NATO and the United States. With punctual exceptions in regard to Macau and the Timor-Leste issues, Asia almost disappeared from its foreign policy, which devoted its resources almost exclusively to Brussels, the European neighbors and the larger transatlantic axis from Washington to Ankara, including the Mediterranean region.

On the other hand, for India, the priority was to strengthen its strategic autonomy under the Soviet security umbrella, institutionalized through a treaty in 1971, and an autarkic economic model that was indifferent, if not overtly hostile, to the United States, the European integration project, and free market economics. From New Delhi's perspective, the new Portugal, divorced from its former colonies and dependent on Brussels, thus offered little of interest.

The 1990s saw the advent of a third, more positive phase in bilateral relations, one based on mutual testing and exploration. This includes the visit of Indian President R. Venkataraman to Portugal (1990), of Portuguese President Mário Soares to New Delhi, Mumbai, Goa and Daman (1992), as well as the opening, in Goa, of a Portuguese Consulate (1994) and of a delegation of the Orient Foundation (1995). The mutual probing culminated in 2000, with Lisbon hosting the first EU-India summit and Indian Prime Minister Atal B. Vajpayee for an associated bilateral visit – the first-ever to Portugal.

The 1990s thus marked the beginning of a normal relationship, but as expected more substantial engagements also brought out limits and new obstacles, mostly based on different outlooks on the past and lack of mutual understanding rooted in the long period of estrangement since the 1940s. Portugal's still small and fragile economy was unable to explore the new opportunities presented by India's economic reforms after 1991, and Lisbon's almost exclusive focus on Goa and cultural, historical and heritage issues gave out a negative signal to New Delhi, reinforced by the Portuguese government's efforts, in 1998, to officially commemorate the 500th anniversary of the colonial 'discoveries' and arrival of Vasco da Gama in India precisely at a moment where the nationalists of the Bharatiya Janata Party formed a durable government in New Delhi. Naturally, bilateral relations were thus high jacked by conservative fringes both in Portugal and India, further delaying any substantial and economic engagement geared towards the future.

It is therefore only in the mid-2000s that Portugal-India relations moved beyond formal normalization to a more significant level, just short of a strategic partnership. The Portuguese President visited India in early 2007 with a large business delegation, followed a few months later by the first-ever visit of a Portuguese Prime Minister (José Sócrates) to India, as part of Portugal's rotating presidency of the European Union. Besides a variety of new agreements in the economic, education, social security and defence sectors, Portugal also appointed new honorary consuls in Mumbai and Kolkata and actively assisted in the extradition of terrorist Abu Salem to India, which led to an extradition treaty and proved to be a relevant bilateral confidence-building measure.

More importantly, between 2006 and 2011, total trade duplicated from US\$ 400 to US\$ 800 million (mostly favorable to India), assisted by the creation of a new India-Portugal Chamber of Commerce in Lisbon (2006) and the opening of a Portuguese AICEP trade and investment office in New Delhi. For the first time, Portuguese infrastructure companies such as CIMPOR, EFACEC and Mota-Engil, and a variety of others in the textile, services and industrial sectors, started to invest and operate in India.

In the other direction, beginning with the energetic ambassadorship of Ms. Latha Reddy in Lisbon, after 2004, Portugal also became an important investment desti-

nation for Indian companies, highlighted by the opening of an office of Tata Consultancy Services for Latin America, the purchase of Sonae's Enabler by Wipro, and the investment of Ranbaxy in the pharmaceutical industry. On the scientific and cultural fronts, besides continued engagement from the Orient and Gulbenkian Foundations, bilateral relations were also enriched by the creation of the Champalimaud Foundation and its world-class medical research program involving several Indian partner institutions.

This last ongoing phase is also marked by converging interests in the diversification of the bilateral relationship to encompass the immense potential of cooperation in third areas, beyond just Portugal and India, in particularly in Portuguese-speaking countries, regions or areas of influence across Latin America, Africa and Asia.

Meeting in the Lusosphere

More people speak Portuguese as their native language than French, German, or Italian. With close to 250 million speakers, it is the fifth most spoken language in the world and official in eight countries across four continents, six being in Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe) and one each in Europe (Portugal), South America (Brazil) and Asia (Timor-Leste). Portuguese is an official language in Macau (China) and is also spoken by thousands of people in smaller regions across the world, including in Goa, Daman and Diu.

At the diplomatic level, the language enjoys an official status at several international institutions and regional organizations, including in the European Union, Mercosur, the African Union and the Organization of American States. There is also an active movement to make it the seventh official language at the United Nations. For Portugal, the rediscovery of this lusophone space coincides with the completion of its integration cycle into the European Union, pursued since the late 1970s and formalized with its full membership since 1986. For two decades, fueled by generous structural funds from Brussels, Portuguese governments focused on developing a world-class infrastructure and services sector, gearing its economy towards the highest global standards and attracting European investors with its comparatively low labor costs. However, in the 2000s, a variety of factors came together, forcing Portugal to look beyond Europe, and redirect its internationalization efforts towards opportunities in new high-growth economies in Latin America, Africa and Asia. With the enlargement of the EU and new competitors in the emerging economies, Portuguese labor costs and productivity lost competitiveness, which was further aggravated after the country joined the European monetary union and by the devastating impact of the 2008-09 global financial crisis.

At the same time, however, Brazil entered its rising economic trajectory, and both Mozambique and Angola ended decades of civil war and political turbulence, becoming the object of attention of China, India and other rising, non-Western

economies. This offered a new opportunity for Portugal to re-engage with its former colonies, either by making strategic investments there or by facilitating their penetration through triangulation.

This was rapidly recognized by China, which established one of its first strategic partnerships in Europe with Portugal. Over the last years, as Portugal grappled with the impact of recession and austerity, Chinese investors – both public and private – made a succession of acquisitions of Portuguese companies with important holdings in Brazil, Angola and Mozambique. Chinese total investment in Portugal per capita is now the second highest in Europe, after the United Kingdom (Hanemann and Huotari, 2015). While significantly weakened by the financial crisis over the recent years, Portugal's diplomacy maintains this new lusophone orientation as one of its cardinal priorities, in tandem with the European and transatlantic orientations. It may now be the turn for Brazilian and Angolan investors to take advantage of Portugal's dire economic situation to make high-profile acquisitions, but that only strengthened the extraordinary diplomatic and political capital Lisbon continued to enjoy in Brasília, Luanda, Maputo or Díli.

On the other hand, for India, the economic reforms initiated after 1991 under Prime Minister Narasimha Rao have translated into a steady average of 5-10% in economic growth rates and an interdependent and extrovert economy that is increasingly reliant on resources and markets worldwide. This economic entanglement leads, in turn, to expanding security interests, as foreign trade and strategic investments require greater political influence abroad, often in distant countries hitherto absent from New Delhi's diplomatic radar.

More than 90% of India's trade is now sea-based, around 10 to 15 million Indian citizens reside abroad (besides 20 million people of Indian origin), and India imports more than 70% of its domestic oil requirements. Trade to GDP ratio has therefore increased from around 20% in the early 1990s to close to the current 60%, but the trade balance remains in a spiraling deficit trend, as exports continue to lag. Prime Minister Modi's new "Make in India" policy to fuel the manufacturing sector seeks to gap this imbalance, especially by targeting new high-growth consumer markets in the rising economies of Latin America, Africa and Asia. The recent India-Africa Summit, recently held in New Delhi, in November 2015, with the presence of over 40 African heads of government and state, and the "Act East" policy to connect with Southeast Asia, are further examples of how India seeks to expand its footprint abroad through economic engagement.

India and the Lusosphere

It is within this context of Indian foreign policy diversification that the Portuguese-speaking countries assume a particularly important role for New Delhi's interests. Besides Portugal, important for its own location on the Atlantic and within the

European Union as discussed in the previous sections, India has steadily developed close links with the other seven Portuguese-speaking countries on three continents. While diplomatic relations exist since 1948, India's links to Brazil have witnessed unprecedented growth since former President Lula came to power in 2003 – he visited India three times in four years. The BRICS country, which is also the world's largest Portuguese-speaking country both in size (approximately that of the USA) and population (almost 200 million people) emerged as a central partner in India's efforts to re-engage with the "Global South", most notably under the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) axis. Bilateral relations are now at their best, and Brazil, in particular financial hubs like São Paulo, now plays a larger role as India's gateway to Latin America.

As a consequence, economic relations have witnessed an impressive growth, with a triplication in trade volume over the last five years alone, with several opportunities for India to explore further, from potential oil reserves to a booming industry and services sectors, especially in IT, energy and pharmaceuticals. Defence relations have also prospered, from naval exercises such as IBSAMAR to the acquisition of several Embraer jets by the Indian Air Force. While Brazil's economic recession has affected some of Indian interests, including divestment by Indian companies, most recently the Brazilian Foreign Affairs Minister, Mauro Vieira, spoke of the huge scope of collaborative work India and Brazil can develop in Africa and underlined his country's "deep bond with Africa due to our historical and linguistic connections as there are countries like Mozambique that are Portuguese-speaking" (Bhattacharjee, 2015).

While India fostered close relationships with the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) even during colonial times, and was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with Mozambique after 1975, relations only intensified following the opening of a Mozambican High Commission in New Delhi, in 2002, and the establishment of a Joint Commission for Economic, Cultural, Scientific and Technical Cooperation. Former Indian External Affairs Minister, S. M. Krishna, even proposed to establish a "strategic partnership" and his reference to the coastal country as one of India's "gateways" to Africa reflects the privileged position Mozambique now enjoys in New Delhi's eyes. India is among the eight major trading partners of Mozambique and, with a total of US\$ 64 million, the fourth largest source of foreign investment. Mozambique's coal and gas reserves have been of particular interest to India's growing energy demands. Finally, Mozambique also plays a central role in India's expanding security interests in Africa. The strategic importance of the Mozambique Channel and the country's proximity to sea lines of communication affected by resurgent piracy off the East Africa coast, have led India to develop close security relations, which include a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on defence cooperation, in 2006.

Less developed and diversified, India's relations with Angola are anchored in historical relations with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). India set up its embassy in Luanda, in 1986, and bilateral relations now seem to have recovered from the 2006 energy debacle, in which state-owned ONGC lost out to its Chinese rival SINOPEC on a major oil exploration bid. Angola's enormous oil and gas reserves were the main driver of bilateral relations for the last years, and India at one point imported 5% of its crude oil needs from the Southwestern African country. Total bilateral trade, which was a mere US\$ 10 million by the end of the 1990s, witnessed an exponential boom, settling close to the five billion mark in 2009-10. This increase is partially motivated by India's import of Angolan raw diamonds, which are then polished in Maharashtra and Gujarat, before being re-exported. However, unlike Mozambique, India's engagement with Angola remains largely focused on natural resources and infrastructure development. Technical cooperation on defence issues remain relatively underdeveloped, and the lack of any significant number of Indian citizens or people of Indian origin poses a difficulty for investors seeking to gain expert insights on the economy.

India has no formal diplomatic representation in Guinea Bissau, on the Western African mainland, nor in Cape Verde, the archipelago facing it. Here, again, India played an important role in extending diplomatic support to the freedom struggle against Portuguese rule, led by revolutionary Amílcar Cabral and his African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). Economic relations and total trade (close to US\$ 200 million in 2009-10) with Guinea Bissau are based on the export of almost the entire local cashew crop to India for processing. The country is also awarded ten annual slots under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program, under which five Guinean women underwent training at Rajasthan's Barefoot College to install and maintain solar energy facilities. Guinea Bissau has also been extended a line of credit of US\$ 25 million under the Team-9 project, of which it is one of the members. Under the IBSA Trust Fund, India also contributed towards projects for renewable energy and agricultural capacity building in Guinea Bissau.

India's relations with Cape Verde are the less developed among all five lusophone African countries, perhaps reflecting the country's peripheral location, lack of economic weight and overall underdevelopment. The visit of Cape Verde's Foreign Minister to India, in November 2009, signaled some change, with the country joining the Pan-African E-network, but trade relations remains almost insignificant, at less than one million USD in 2009-10. India has thus been expanding its role in terms of development aid and technical cooperation. This includes five slots under ITEC and a line of credit in the value of US\$ 5 million for a Technology Park Project. This reflects Cape Verde's ambition to see India emerge as a "strategic partner" in its efforts to modernize its IT sector. Both Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde are also

entitled to access India's line of credit to Ecowas Bank, set up in 2006, in the value of US\$ 250 million, and directed towards investments in energy, telecommunications and transportation infrastructure.

India's relations with Sao Tome and Principe are routed through its embassy in Luanda and have witnessed a dramatic turn after the discovery of vast oil reserves off the archipelago. The Nigeria-Sao Tome Joint Development Zone is being developed in a 60-40 split with Nigeria and includes two blocs in which ONGC Videsh and Aban Offshore have a stake in exploration. More recently, ONGC has also expressed its interest in exploring seven further blocks located within Sao Tome's exclusive economic zone.

At the same time, total trade grew threefold over the last five years. These new developments have led Sao Tome's Minister of Foreign Affairs to visit New Delhi in November 2009 – the first-ever high-level visit between both countries – resulting in a MoU on business relations and a protocol on foreign office consultations. A US\$ 1 million grant, and a US\$ 5 million line of credit for capacity building, agriculture and infrastructure are under discussion.

Finally, the most recent Portuguese-speaking country, Timor-Leste, is strategically located between Southeast Asia and Oceania. In 1999, following a United Nations-sponsored referendum, Indonesia relinquished control of the territory and East Timor became the first new sovereign state of the 21st century. It is one of only two predominantly Roman Catholic countries in Asia, and remains a least developed economy with important natural gas reserves. Analysts have underlined the importance of India upgrading its presence by opening a diplomatic representation in Dili, expanding its development and aid programs, and facilitating further private investments, especially to counter massive Chinese presence there. Former President Ramos-Horta, and a variety of Timorese officials, have in turn expressed their interest in reactivating links with India, especially via Goa.

Lusophone India

Fifty years have now passed since the end of the *Estado Português da Índia*, the Portuguese precursor and equivalent to the British *Raj* on the subcontinent. No other colonial encounter lasted as long in modern history. Parts of Goa were tied to the destinies of the Portuguese empire for as long as 451 years without interruption. As the political, administrative and religious capital of the Portuguese Orient, the little region on the Konkan coast was thus often at the heart of a vast empire and trading network that spanned two oceans, connecting India to Latin America, Africa and Asia.

Much before the advent of the East India Company and India's integration into the British imperial context, India had already played a central role in the very first era of globalization, exchanging its mangoes for Brazilian cashew and chilies,

harboring African slave communities, and sending off Goan priests and Gujarati merchants to Mozambique, Macau and Timor. Portuguese served as the *lingua franca* for all these movements that persisted well into the twentieth century.

1961 interrupted that colonial chapter and while it brought the vital air of political freedom to Goa, in many ways it also represented a cut with the past as Goa turned inland and towards Delhi, naturally prioritizing its economic, cultural and political integration into India. Excepting for a brief period in the 1950s and 1960s, during which India's leadership supported the liberation movements in Portuguese colonies such as Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique (many of which were led by Goans), the links to the lusosphere were partially severed. At the same time, India's post-independence anglophone intelligentsia either ignored or actively despised the different colonial encounter produced by the Portuguese in India and its wider links to the Global South. Political relations with all lusophone countries remained cordial, but lacked any substance.

All this changed in the 2000s, during which India started to reactivate its latent connection to the Portuguese-speaking world. Three factors explain this transformation. First, Goa attained statehood in 1987 and thereby consolidated and closed its chapter of transition as political integration into India – allowing it to now feel more comfortable in reorienting seawards, towards its southern and lusophone dimension. There are now even proposals for the state to host a regular strategic dialogue between New Delhi and other lusophone governments, as the Chinese have done since 2003 in Macau, and it was none other than a BJP nationalist state government, under the leadership of Chief Minister (now Defence Minister) Manohar Parrikar, that hosted the 2013 Lusofonia Games in Goa and spoke of the importance of building stronger economic linkages between India and Brazil and other growing economies in the Portuguese-speaking world.

Second, a new generation of Indian historians exposed to European continental thought and sources started to liberate Indian historiography from the myths and prisms inherited from the British, thus learning to appreciate rather than just deride the specific Portuguese, Dutch and French experiences in South Asia and its global ramifications. This paved the way for Indian scholars, writers and artists to study and represent Goa's social and cultural singularity. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh remarkably signaled this new approach in a statement on the occasion of the Portuguese Prime Minister's visit to New Delhi in 2007, in which he noted that "the richness of Portuguese culture in Goa, Daman and Diu is well known to every Indian, and we celebrate this legacy" (Singh, 2007).

But most importantly, as discussed in the previous section, India's newly opened economy and consequent quest for natural resources and markets forced New Delhi to diversify its foreign policy and look beyond the Anglophone world it had focused on for so long. Brazil, Angola and Mozambique now assume a strategic

importance and the legacies of history offer an immense potential to be explored to foster closer links with these resource-rich, strategically located and high growth countries that speak Portuguese.

Facilitating Convergence: Recommendations

For many years in the mid-2000s, Portuguese governments approached India and, to a certain degree also China, with the proposal of serving as a strategic platform for Asian investments in Latin America and Africa, particularly Portuguese-speaking countries. While, as noted above, China has responded massively – especially by acquiring large Portuguese companies with interests in those regions – there remains considerable potential for Indian interests to explore this niche, too. While the current economic scenario in Portugal looks dramatically different from just ten years ago, and it would be myopic to assume that Indian and Chinese interests somehow depend on Lisbon to enter Africa or Latin America, there are several concrete areas in which Portugal and India could strengthen their bilateral relationship by coordinating policies and collaborate to operate in the lusosphere.

Institutional

CPLP

India would benefit from a closer association with the political dimension of the lusosphere as institutionalized in the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), founded in 1996. It is based on the inter-governmental models of the Commonwealth and Francophonie organizations and has all eight Portuguese-speaking countries as its members. Established in 2005, the associate member (observer) category allows states to attend the biennial summits and get privileged access to a variety of CPLP forums and initiatives, ranging from economic and technical to security and military cooperation, as well as parliamentary and cultural exchanges, some sectors being discussed in detail below. Associate members can also become full members, as with the recent case of Equatorial Guinea.

There is little in the way for India to achieve this status, especially given that smaller states like Cape Verde or Timor-Leste would benefit dramatically from using the CPLP to expand their institutional channels with New Delhi. India also fulfills the requirements regarding democratic governance and the respect for human rights that guide the CPLP founding charter, unlike China. By joining the CPLP as an observer, India would also be signaling its strong commitment to strengthen existing multilateral settings, rather than a narrow bilateral approach so often pursued by China, as embodied in its Macau Forum.

Senegal and Mauritius already enjoy observer status, with Turkey, Japan and Indonesia having joined most recently (in 2014), and while these countries' links to the

Portuguese-speaking world may be significant, they are certainly less strong than those of India, which has thousands of Portuguese speakers and an invaluable lusophone heritage.

Timor-Leste is holding the current rotating Presidency of the CPLP and has informally expressed interest in supporting an Indian application to become an observer member – and there are indications that the Indian government is considering this possibility with interest, especially if Portugal assumes the presidency in 2016. Furthermore, the CPLP's current Executive Secretary, Murade Murargy, a Mozambican diplomat of Indian origin, has also expressed interest in supporting closer links between CPLP and India.

Goa Forum

Beyond a formal association of India to the CPLP at the multilateral level, there is also scope for a bilateral dimension with various official and other stakeholders from the Portuguese-speaking world. China opted, since 2008, to establish the Macau Forum to officially engaging with the lusophone countries at the ministerial and economic levels. India could benefit from hosting a less formal, semi-official and annual Track-2 Dialogue hosted in Goa, which would focus on sectors of potential cooperation. The idea has been taken up by India's former Minister of State for External Affairs, Eduardo Faleiro, who in 2009 called for a "biannual structured dialogue" to be held between India and the CPLP countries, possibly located in Goa itself" (Times of India, 2009).

Economic

Trade and Investment

India's trade volume with the eight Portuguese-speaking economies and Macau has witnessed a revolution in the last years, growing six-fold, from US\$ 3.5 billion in 2005-2006 to the current US\$ 20 billion, slightly less than India's total trade with Germany and more than that with Japan. This is only a fifth of China's comparatively bigger trade volume with the lusosphere (around US\$ 100 billion), but it already accounts for 2.5% of India's total trade volume, more than its trade volume each with its neighbors Pakistan or Myanmar. Data on investments is less reliable, but Brazilian and Portuguese companies have invested several dozen millions in the Indian economy, even while Indian private companies have made key investments in Brazil, Portugal, Angola, Mozambique and Timor-Leste, especially in the oil, gas, energy, pharma, banking and telecom sectors.

Besides the Goa Forum suggested above, these trade and investment flows could benefit from a parallel conclave focusing exclusively on the economic and business angle, with investors and other economic agents from India and the Portuguese-

speaking countries, possibly in collaboration with organizations like the Confederation of Indian Industries or the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in partnership with their various lusophone counterparts. Such an initiative would also facilitate the emergence of Portugal as a facilitator in India's lusophone engagement, for example by encouraging strategic cooperation initiatives between India and Brazil in Africa.

Development Assistance

Despite the economic recession, Portugal has preserved its key role as a predominant development assistance partner to Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa, and also in Timor-Leste. The Portuguese Institute for Development Support (IPAD) had a pre-crisis (2009) budget of around 400 million Euros, of which more than two thirds were spent in the five Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa alone. Several studies point to its extraordinarily high effectiveness through this concentration strategy, having developed a network of expertise, experience and influence that is often unmatched by other American and European development agencies.

Brazil has over recent years also developed the development dimension in its foreign policy, in particularly in Africa. Finally, India has set up a new Development Partnership Administration, in 2012, and contrasting with China, India is also more open to work in partnership in third countries. Given Portugal's extraordinary experience and assets in development sector in lusophone Africa, Brazil's new capabilities, and India's willingness to become a collaborative player in the sector, there is a great potential for triangulating aid policies, from strategy to implementation and monitoring mechanisms.

Dialogue on Development Policies

On the softer economic side, there is also potential for a closer dialogue on development policies in the employment, social security, health and educational sectors. The case of Portugal is less relevant to India's concerns, but there are striking similarities between India and Brazil that have led to a variety of research and policy initiatives to stimulate comparative studies and exchange of information between both countries.

This was especially the case during the early years of the IBSA dialogue, with several dialogues, for example on Brazil's "*Bolsa Família*" that have been discontinued but could be reactivated under India's lusophone engagement, also with Mozambique. Except for Portugal, all other seven Portuguese-speaking countries face similar development challenges, most of which in a context of political freedom and democracy where civil society and private initiative are crucial.

Strategic/Defence

Naval Cooperation

Historically neglected by India's strategic orientation towards continental security threats, the Indian Navy has undergone tremendous modernization in recent years, with a specific focus on expanding its presence across the Indian Ocean. The straits of Malacca and Ormuz assume particular importance in consolidating the country's naval strategy, but so do the South African link waters with the Atlantic Ocean. This Indo-Atlantic naval connection will also rise in importance as India expands its economic presence in Latin America and Western Africa, and as its Navy starts cooperating more closely with its counterparts in Brazil and among NATO member states such as Portugal.

From a broader perspective, the security of the Indian Ocean begins in the Atlantic, and vice-versa, demanding greater cooperation and coordination. The continued success of IBSAMAR, the joint exercise held off South Africa with the naval forces of the IBSA member-states, despite the overall decline in other IBSA-related initiatives, reflects the importance and potential of this sector, as does India's agreement with Mozambique to patrol the Channel of Mozambique.

As with its Indian counterpart, the Portuguese Navy remains committed to freedom of navigation, the UNCLOS and other liberal institutions and norms regulating the coastal and maritime domains. A closer dialogue between the Portuguese and Indian navies should be established, especially on issues such as maritime history, shipbuilding and a self-reliant defence industry, or out-of-area deployment and addressing non-conventional security threats (Portuguese and Indian navies having jointly addressed the piracy issue in the Gulf of Aden) – and selected Brazilian as well as Angolan and Mozambican navy officials should be roped in to discuss strategic trends in the Southern Indo-Atlantic region.

Peacekeeping

India is among the top contributors to UN-mandated peacekeeping missions worldwide. In Africa alone, by 2008 India's military had emerged as the largest contributor to UN-mandated peacekeeping and other operations, with more than 30,000 personnel involved in 17 of 22 total missions on the continent since 1960, with significant roles played to enforce the peace processes in Angola and Mozambique. India's peacekeepers and other personnel have also been deployed to the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste, under the leadership of its diplomats Atul Khare and Kamallesh Sharma. New Delhi also hosts a United Nations Center for Peacekeeping, whose training courses have been so far attended by almost 200 officials from over two dozen African countries. Finally, as reflected in the recent announcement that India and the USA will jointly train military forces in six African countries for peacekeeping missions, New Delhi is

also increasingly willing to work with Western countries on enforcing peace in third countries.

Portugal has also played a crucial role in peacekeeping missions in Africa and Timor-Leste, and gathered valuable experiences on the ground, even while Brazil is also committed to play a more assertive role in this domain, especially in Africa. This offers a specific area of potential convergence in various military-technical cooperation domains, including under the CPLP umbrella, which has been strengthening its strategic and defence cooperation dialogues and continues to consider a joint CPLP peacekeeping force.

Defence Industry

One of the best examples of trilateral Brazil-Portugal-India cooperation can be found just outside Lisbon, in Alverca, where Portugal's flagship aerospace company OGMA is now a leading player in the maintenance, repair and overhaul and aerostructures business, held 35% by the Portuguese government and 65% by Brazil's Embraer. The Indian Air Force has, over the last ten years, made a variety of acquisitions from Embraer, including VIP jets. As Embraer is expected to make further inroads into the Indian defence market, OGMA may assume an increasingly important role in these new contracts. While Portugal's naval industry has suffered serious setbacks in recent years, its experience in the construction of offshore patrol and other vessels could be explored for potential cooperation with India. As India's defence industry seeks to be more competitive and export-oriented, lusophone countries like Angola, Mozambique or Timor-Leste may prove to be important new markets to be tapped with Lisbon's assistance.

Cultural

Language, Education and Research

A recent analysis of the titles of current and awarded doctoral (PhD) and masters (MPhil) theses at Delhi University's Department of African Studies (the oldest such department in India), notes that only 18 out of a total 468 theses specifically relate to any of the lusophone countries, and those who do focus mostly on a historical approach. This indicates the tremendous lack of information and knowledge on Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa, especially as New Delhi seeks to customize its outreach efforts to specific regional and linguistic communities across the continent. India's former French colony of Pondicherry has developed into a knowledge hub that connects France, India and the francophone countries around the world, with various active research programs that have benefitted Indian scholarly and scientific communities. Despite the presence of the Orient Foundation and the Camões

Institute in Goa, which are mostly focused on cooperation with Portugal, there is a dearth of similar institutions in Goa, with exception of the newly-created Lusophone Society of Goa.

A Lusophone Institute in Goa, pooling the efforts of public and private sector cultural agents, could play a catalytic role as hub to increase research collaboration between Indian and lusophone institutions. Goa University successfully hosted an India-Brazil dialogue in 2012, and a new institution could build on these early efforts. Also, since 2006, a record number of students have registered for the Master in Arts in Portuguese offered at Goa University (36, almost as many as in the previous 20 years altogether), and two colleges in Goa now have a BA in Portuguese. The same trend can be observed across India, where the Portuguese language has become a professional asset for thousands of young Indians wishing to work in the business process outsourcing (BPO) sector or for Indian companies investing abroad.

This is particularly important as 90% of the 200,000 Indian students abroad are enrolled in only four countries – all of which English-speaking: the US, UK, Australia and New Zealand. Language cannot be an excuse: French and German universities each attracted thousands of new Indian students in recent years, while only 99 Indians (against 201 Chinese) enrolled in Portuguese universities in 2011. The numbers are equally dismaying for Brazil: 16 Indian students in total (354 from China). While since 1970, for almost half a century, only 13 Indian citizens (against 53 Chinese) obtained a PhD from a Portuguese university, all of these were awarded in just five years, since 2006. Many young Indians now also prefer MBA programs in Portugal and Brazil to the far more expensive, but not always more prestigious programs in English-speaking countries. This highlights the potential of greater cooperation in the education sectors between India and the Portuguese-speaking countries.

Official Training

Thousands of students and government officials from across the world study or are trained every year in India under various programs sponsored by the Indian government, especially the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programs.

The beneficiaries from Portuguese-speaking countries alone have swollen in last years from a few dozens to several hundreds. But the language factor or cultural barriers are the most frequent reasons invoked by these students to explain vacant slots or negative experiences while in India. An Angolan or Mozambican would, however, be certainly far more open to the idea of studying or training in Goa, either in Portuguese or in English, in a much more familiar context. Recognizing this potential, former Mozambican minister of Indian origin, Oscar Monteiro, recently called for Goa to play a “driving role” in such efforts to bring India closer to his country (Times of India, 2010).

If India can offer training in French language, there is no reason why it should not be able to add Portuguese to its offer and thus increase the attractiveness and effectiveness of its technical and educational cooperation programs. Similarly, Portugal and India could develop triangular initiatives to host Portuguese-speaking officials from Africa to be trained jointly in both countries. India already posts several of its younger diplomats at its mission in Lisbon for language training, where most CPLP states have large diplomatic missions.

The Soft Power of Science and Technology, Heritage and Culture

451 years of Portuguese colonialism have left a deep imprint on India's built heritage and architecture, reflecting a rich connection with other Portuguese colonies. In 2008, for the first time, Brazil sponsored Goa's Carnival celebrations. Goa's state archives include thousands of valuable historical documents on India's links with Brazil, Mozambique, China and Timor that are in dire need for closer study and preservation. All along India's Western coast, a variety of monumental forts, religious structures and colonial cities reflect hundreds of years of lusophone influence. Similarly, the histories, museum collections and built heritage in Brazil, Mozambique, Macau and Timor, cannot be studied, renovated and put to tourism and educational use without taking into consideration the vibrant influence of India. Rather than approaching this monumental heritage from a bilateral, post-colonial approach, Lisbon and New Delhi could explore the immense potential of multilateral cooperation to begin a dialogue on how best to fund its cataloguing and rehabilitation efforts – especially by involving Brazil's tremendous interests and resources. At the science and technology levels, there is also great potential for research in the maritime domain in the Indian and Atlantic Ocean, in collaboration with India's National Institute of Oceanography. Finally, at the cultural level, there is no better bridge between India and the lusosphere than sports, in particular the passion for football. Reflecting the driving role of sports, the Indian Olympic Association agreed in 2006 to become a member of the Association of the Portuguese-Speaking Olympic Associations. This was the first-time ever that the Indian Government officially recognized, even if implicitly, the lusophone character of Goa at the international level. New Delhi has since then agreed to participate in the first two editions of the Lusofonia Games (Macau and Lisbon), and, in a historic move, backed Goa's initiative to successfully organize the third edition, in 2013. Dozens of Portuguese-speaking football coaches and players now work in India, and Portugal and Brazil can play a tremendous role in developing the needed infrastructure and skills for Indian youth to finally excel globally.

Conclusion

Despite strikingly different foreign policy trajectories, India and Portugal today face an immense potential to strategically couch their bilateral relationship in the

context of the Portuguese-speaking countries and regions of influence. China has, in many ways, been the flavor of the day in recession-hit Portugal, where it has developed a strategic partnership and acquired a variety of assets in the infrastructure, retail, banking and energy sectors. This does not mean, however, that India has lost the train.

Given the changing capabilities of power, and its limited capabilities in contrast with China, India can't do it alone: it will have to develop partnerships to implement its external engagement in coordination and alignment with other great and smaller powers that can facilitate its access to new regions beyond South Asia.

While still reluctant to do so with the United States and other traditional European great powers that are part of the NATO block, New Delhi may be, however, more amenable to pursue such tactical alignments with smaller countries that have a comparative advantage in certain niche regions or sectors, which is the case of Portugal in the lusosphere. Rather than a strictly bilateral approach, this alignment will necessarily have a multilateral dimension, and thus the importance for Lisbon and New Delhi to triangulate with Brazil and other Portuguese-speaking countries, as well as via the CPLP. At a low-cost, if implemented, many of the recommendations set out in this paper, could help to increase the foreign policy leverage of both India and Portugal.

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